

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1005 respondents
Dates: September 16-19, 1995

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4062
NBC News/WSJ
September 1995

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	September	DAT	199
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[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]
[13]	[14]					

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered 7 **[15]**
 Not registered..... 2
 Not sure..... -

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track? **[16]**¹

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>
Right direction.....	27	27	27	33	32	32	40	34	37
Wrong track.....	50	51	51	45	50	47	42	47	42
Mixed (VOL).....	17	16	15	15	12	13	12	13	12
Not sure.....	6	6	7	7	6	8	6	6	9
	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
	27	28	32	35	27	47	15	34	
	55	57	50	42	56	27	71	48	
	14	11	12	16	10	14	9	13	
	4	4	6	7	7	12	5	5	

- 3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president? **[17]**¹

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>11/4- 5/94+</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>
Approve....	46	47	46	50	46	44	45	48	43	44	48	44
Disapprove	43	44	42	39	44	45	43	44	48	44	43	48
Not sure	11	9	12	11	10	11	12	8	9	12	9	8
	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>		
	49	52	57	56	50	45	41	52	57	51		
	44	39	37	33	39	45	50	34	26	16		
	7	9	6	11	11	10	9	14	17	33		

3b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?
[18]¹

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-</u> <u>25/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/9</u>
	*										4	3		3
Approve.....	42	48	43	52	43	50	46	44	40	45	50	42	33	52
Disapprove.....	47	42	48	39	46	38	46	47	51	46	39	48	56	28
Not sure.....	11	10	9	9	11	12	8	9	9	9	11	10	11	20

3c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy? **[19]¹**

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/9</u>
	*			-								3	3		3
				<u>25/9</u>											
				5											
Approve.....	42	37	39	46	37	50	44	45	32	34	53	33	50	38	47
Disapprove.....	45	48	46	41	47	38	45	46	60	54	31	58	36	43	22
Not sure.....	13	15	15	13	16	12	11	9	8	12	16	9	14	19	31

4. And in general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?¹

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-</u> <u>25/95</u>	<u>4/3-</u> <u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	
Approve.....	30	36	43	47	42	41	31	27	23	28	34	[20
Disapprove.....	58	53	43	40	44	46	48	63	67	64	52]
Not sure.....	12	11	14	13	14	13	21	10	10	8	14	
				<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92+</u>	<u>10/91+</u>	<u>7/91+</u>	<u>10/90+</u>
				33	29	24	27	27	15	26	28	22
				54	60	65	60	56	78	62	63	69
				13	11	11	13	17	7	12	9	9

5. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>
Bill Clinton¹						[21]
September 1995.....	15	32	15	20	17	1
July 1995.....	15	34	17	17	17	-
June 1995.....	13	33	19	19	16	-
April 21-25, 1995.....	19	30	19	17	15	-
April 3-4, 1995.....	15	30	18	19	18	-
March 1995.....	14	31	18	19	17	1
January 1995.....	15	29	18	20	17	1
December 1994.....	15	26	19	18	21	1
October 1994.....	16	26	16	16	25	1
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-
June 1994.....	17	29	17	16	20	1
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7
Q.5 (cont'd)	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>
Ross Perot¹						[22]
September 1995.....	9	17	28	21	22	3
July 1995.....	5	16	26	26	24	3
December 1994.....	8	22	24	18	25	3
October 1994.....	8	17	25	18	30	2
September 1994.....	5	14	29	23	24	5
July 1994.....	8	18	26	21	24	3
December 1993.....	7	16	19	24	30	4
November 1993.....	11	17	21	20	27	4
September 1993.....	12	24	26	19	16	3
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5
Colin Powell						[23]
September 1995.....	22	30	26	6	3	13

July 1995.....	23	31	22	5	3	16
June 1995.....	25	32	21	4	1	17
April 21-25, 1995.....	26	30	20	4	2	18
March 1995.....	28	30	22	4	1	15
September 1994.....	33	25	19	4	2	17
October 1993.....	35	30	15	4	1	15
September 1993.....	32	27	17	4	3	17
June 1993.....	37	27	13	4	2	17
May 1991+.....	37	30	14	3	2	14
March 1991+.....	43	28	8	2	1	18
February 1991+.....	46	22	8	2	1	21
Q.5 (cont'd)	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know/Not Sure</u>

Newt Gingrich**[24]**

September 1995.....	8	19	19	16	27	11
July 1995.....	11	18	19	17	25	10
June 1995.....	10	17	18	17	21	17
April 21-25, 1995.....	11	20	18	13	23	15
April 3-4, 1995.....	9	18	20	14	25	14
March 1995.....	10	17	17	17	24	15
January 1995.....	9	19	20	13	18	21
December 1994.....	6	13	17	13	19	32
October 1994.....	3	8	14	7	9	59
October 1990+.....	1	8	10	6	6	69

Bill Bradley**[25]**

September 1995.....	7	17	22	7	1	46
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Phil Gramm**[26]**

September 1995.....	5	13	22	13	13	34
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Hillary Rodham Clinton¹**[27]**

September 1995.....	19	25	19	15	20	2
July 1995.....	16	27	21	14	20	2
June 1995.....	17	24	20	16	21	2
April 21-25, 1995.....	22	21	20	13	21	3
March 1995.....	14	26	22	14	22	2
January 1995.....	18	22	21	14	23	2
December 1994.....	17	23	19	16	23	2
October 1994.....	18	23	17	14	27	1
September 1994.....	15	24	19	15	24	3

July 1994.....	21	25	17	10	25	2
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6
Q.5 (cont'd)	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>

Bob Dole¹**[28]**

September 1995.....	11	31	24	16	12	6
July 1995.....	13	33	25	14	10	5
June 1995.....	12	27	28	14	7	12
April 21-25, 1995.....	14	30	25	13	10	8
April 3-4, 1995.....	11	30	24	16	9	10
March 1995.....	17	34	21	11	9	8
January 1995.....	13	29	23	15	9	11
December 1994.....	16	31	21	14	10	8
October 1994.....	11	25	23	14	16	11
September 1994.....	14	24	24	13	12	13
July 1994.....	12	25	22	15	14	12
June 1994.....	11	26	26	12	12	13
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14

- 6a. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>9/95</u>		<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>11/9/94</u> +	
Bill Clinton.....	46	CONTINUE	45	43	45	41	41	39	[29]
Bob Dole.....	40		43	42	43	48	43	45	
Depends (VOL).....	1	SKIP TO Q.6d	1	2	1	1	2	3	
Neither/other (VOL).....	9		6	7	6	6	8	5	
Not sure.....	4		5	6	5	4	6	8	
					<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>
					45	41	46	48	45
					43	43	43	39	45
					1	2	NA	NA	NA
					6	9	4	7	NA
					5	5	7	6	10

(FORM A)**(ASK ONLY OF CLINTON AND DOLE VOTERS IN Q.6a.)**

6b. When it comes to your support of **(CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.6a)**, is your mind pretty much made up to support him, or could you still be persuaded to vote for the other candidate?

	Clinton		Dole		
	<u>9/95</u> *	<u>7/95</u>	<u>9/95</u> *	<u>7/95</u>	
Mind made up.....	42	48	40	42	[30]
Could be persuaded.....	52	47	52	52	
Not sure.....	6	5	8	6	

Combined results of Q.6a, 6b	ALL	
	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>
Clinton Voters.....	<u>46</u>	<u>45</u>
Mind made up.....	19	22
Could be persuaded.....	27	23
Dole Voters.....	<u>40</u>	<u>43</u>
Mind made up.....	16	18
Could be persuaded.....	24	25
Undecided (Q.6a).....	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>

(FORM B)**(ASK ONLY OF CLINTON AND DOLE VOTERS IN Q.6a.)**

6c. Would you definitely vote for **(CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.6a)**, probably vote for **(CANDIDATE)** but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for **(CANDIDATE)**? *

	Clinton Voters	Dole Voters	
Definitely vote for candidate.....	48	36	[31]
Probably vote for candidate/still thinking about it.....	28	25	
Just leaning toward voting for candidate.....	22	32	
Not sure.....	2	7	

Combined results of Q.6a and 6c	ALL VOTERS
	<u>9/95</u>
Clinton Voters.....	<u>46</u>
Definitely vote for candidate.....	22
Probably vote for/Just leaning toward voting for/Not sure	24
Dole Voters.....	<u>40</u>
Definitely vote for candidate.....	14
Probably vote for/Just leaning toward voting for/Not sure	26
Undecided (Q.6a).....	<u>14</u>

(ASK EVERYONE.)

6d. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Colin Powell were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

Bill Clinton.....	3	[32]
	3	
Colin Powell	4	
	8	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Neither/other (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

- 6e. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate, Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, and Colin Powell were an Independent candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/9</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	
				5		4	4	
Bill Clinton.....	30	31	33	35	34	34	36	[33]
Bob Dole	26	28	27	28	32	24	29	
Colin Powell.....	30	25	25	23	23	29	21	
Depends (VOL).....	3	5	3	2	2	2	NA	
None/other (VOL).....	3	2	3	3	1	2	2	
Not sure.....	8	9	9	9	8	9	12	

- 7a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	{202}
	5	
Not very strong Democrat.....	1	CONTINUE
	4	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	6	
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	
	1	
Not very strong Republican.....	1	SKIP TO Q.7c
	2	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Other.....	7	
Refused.....	1	SKIP TO Q.8
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

- 7b. If you were voting today in the 1996 Democratic primary for president, and the candidates were Bill Clinton and Colin Powell, which candidate would you vote for? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

	Democrats And Strict Independents	All Democrats		
Bill Clinton.....	46	53	INDEPENDENTS CONTINUE DEMOCRATS SKIP TO Q.8	[34]
Colin Powell.....	38	32		
Someone else/neither (VOL).....	3	2		
Not sure.....	13	13		

- 7c. Let me read you a list of people who are seeking the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you vote for?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		All					
		<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
					<u>5</u>		
Lamar Alexander.....	2		3	3	2	5	[35]
Pat Buchanan.....	6		5	3	6	5	
Bob Dole.....	53		52	58	58	60	
Phil Gramm.....	11		13	12	14	13	
Richard Lugar.....	2		3	2	3	4	
Arlen Specter.....	4		3	3	1	2	
Pete Wilson.....	8	CONTINU E	10	5	6	NA	
Someone else/none (VOL).....	5	SKIP TO Q.7e	3	4	1	3	
Not sure.....	9		8	10	9	8	

- 7d. Would you definitely vote for **(CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.7c)**, probably vote for **(CANDIDATE)** but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for **(CANDIDATE)**?

	Republican Dole Voters *	
Definitely vote for candidate.....	30	[36]
Probably vote for candidate/still thinking about it.....	36	
Just leaning toward candidate.....	30	
Not sure.....	4	
* The percentages for all the other candidates are not		

Combined results of Q.7c and Q.7d	<u>All Republicans</u>
Bob Dole.....	53
Definitely vote for.....	16
Probably vote for/Just leaning toward voting for/Not sure	37

- 7e. Let me read you another list of people who might seek the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you vote for?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)

	All			
	<u>9/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/9</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
		<u>5</u>		
Lamar Alexander.....	2	1	3	[37]
Pat Buchanan.....	5	5	3	
Bob Dole.....	34	44	37	
Phil Gramm.....	9	11	7	
Richard Lugar.....	2	3	3	
Colin Powell.....	31	20	27	
Arlen Specter.....	2	1	2	
Pete Wilson.....	5	4	6	
Someone else/none (VOL).....	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	9	10	10	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

8. Do you think the voters of this country are ready to elect a qualified black as president, or don't you think so?

	All			White s	Blacks	
	<u>9/95</u>	<u>9/87+</u>	<u>2/86+</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>9/95</u>	
Voters are ready to elect qualified black president	54	41	29	54	49	[38]
Voters are <u>not</u> ready to elect qualified black president.....	34	53	68	33	48	
Not sure.....	12	6	3	13	3	

+ Asked only of likely voters.

- 9a. Which of the following statements is closest to your own view of the two-party system today, in terms of how well it defines issues and provides choices for voters? **(READ CHOICES SLOWLY.)**

A) The two-party system works fairly well.....	15	[39]
B) The two-party system has real problems, but with some improvements it can still work well.....	54	
C) The two-party system is seriously broken, and the country needs a third party.....	28	
Not sure	3	

- 9b. If there were a significant third political party established for the 1996 presidential election, separate from the Republican and Democratic parties, how likely would you be to support its candidate--almost certain, very likely, about 50-50, less than 50-50, or not likely?

Almost certain.....	5	[40]
Very likely	7	
About 50-50.....	3	
	7	
Less than 50-50.....	1	
	2	
Not likely.....	2	
	0	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	3	

- 9c. Now I would like to read you the names of some people who might run for president in 1996 as an Independent against the Democratic and Republican candidates. In each case, please tell me how likely you would be to vote for him--almost certain, very likely, about 50-50, less than 50-50, or not likely?

How likely would you be to vote for **(READ NAME)**--almost certain, very likely, about 50-50, less than 50-50, or not likely?

	<u>Almos t Certa in</u>	<u>Very Likely</u>	<u>About 50-50</u>	<u>Less Than 50-50</u>	<u>Not Likely</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Bill Bradley							[41]
September 1995.....	3	3	18	13	45	18	
Colin Powell							[42]
September 1995.....	16	18	32	8	19	7	
January 1995 +.....	10	9	35	10	27	9	

Pat Buchanan**[43]**

September 1995.....	2	4	17	11	57	9
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Jesse Jackson**[44]**

September 1995.....	3	4	15	11	64	3
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Ross Perot**[45]**

September 1995.....	6	7	20	12	54	1
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- 10a. How much do you feel you know about where Colin Powell stands on the major issues facing the country today -- a great deal, a fair amount, just some, or not very much?

Know a great deal.....	4	[46]
Know a fair amount.....	2	
	4	
Know just some.....	2	
	7	
Do not know very much.....	4	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	

- 10b. If Colin Powell runs for president as an Independent, will you definitely make a financial contribution to his campaign, will you consider contributing, or will you probably not contribute to Colin Powell's campaign?

Definitely make a contribution...	3	[47]
Consider contributing.....	2	
	4	
Probably not contribute.....	5	
	7	
Definitely not contribute (VOL)	1	
	1	
Not sure.....	5	

11. I'd like to read you a list of six possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for Congress to address. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS.) ***

Campaign finance reform.....	7	[48]
Medicare reform	33	>
A balanced federal budget.....	37	
Welfare reform.....	38	
Tax cuts.....	13	
Education funding.....	39	
All equally important (VOL).....	5	
None is important (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	1	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 12a. From what you know, do you agree or disagree with most of what the Republicans in Congress are proposing to do?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Agree.....	32	41	46	45	49	41	[49]
Disagree.....	45	39	39	35	22	28	
Both/mixed (VOL).....	13	10	8	10	9	6	
Not sure.....	10	10	7	10	20	25	

12b. In your view, are President Clinton and the Republican Congress generally moving closer together on the issues and compromising more, or are they moving farther apart and producing more gridlock? *

Moving closer together.....	3	[50]
	1	
Moving farther apart.....	5	
	4	
No change (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 12c. For each of the following issues, please tell me if you think that President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress generally have the better approach to this issue, or if there is not much difference. Who do you think has a better approach to **(READ ITEM)**--President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress, or do you think there isn't much difference on this issue?

	President Clinton	Republican s In Congress	No Differenc e	Not Sure	
Social Security and Medicare					[51]
September 1995.....	37	27	28	8	
July 1995.....	36	28	27	9	
January 1995.....	37	23	28	12	
November 9, 1994 +.....	29	42	24	5	
Affirmative action for minorities and women					[52]
September 1995.....	41	25	22	12	
July 1995.....	36	31	20	13	
Foreign policy					[53]
September 1995.....	26	38	23	13	
July 1995.....	27	34	26	13	
November 9, 1994 ¹ +.....	36	37	22	5	
The budget deficit					[54]
September 1995.....	30	35	25	10	
July 1995.....	27	39	24	10	
January 1995.....	25	37	29	9	
November 9, 1994 +.....	23	46	27	4	
Welfare reform					[55]
September 1995.....	35	36	20	9	
July 1995.....	29	37	24	10	
January 1995.....	31	40	21	8	
November 9, 1994 +.....	26	48	21	5	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

¹ Asked as "foreign affairs."

- 13a. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs for blacks and other minority groups?

	All				Whi				Blac				
	9/95	7/95	3/95	5/91	9/95	7/95	3/95	5/91	9/95	7/95	3/95	5/91	
Favor.....	48	44	46	57	41	38	40	52	82	78	81	86	[56]
Oppose.....	37	49	41	33	43	55	46	37	8	18	13	10	1
Not sure.....	15	7	13	10	16	7	14	11	10	4	6	4	

- 13b. Now let me read you two brief statements on affirmative action programs, and ask which one comes closer to your own point of view. **(READ BOTH STATEMENTS SLOWLY. IF RESPONDENT SELECTS STATEMENT, ASK:)** Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly?

Statement A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas.

Statement B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be phased out because they unfairly discriminate against whites.

	<u>All</u>			<u>Whi</u>			<u>Blac</u>			
	<u>9/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>3/91+</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>3/91+</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>3/91+</u>	
Statement A/Strongly.....	33	31	40	26	23	33	72	76	77	[57]
Statement A/Do not feel strongly	17	21	21	18	22	23	12	9	8	
Statement B/Do not feel strongly	13	13	11	14	16	19	6	-	6	
Statement B/Strongly.....	30	27	17	35	31	13	5	10	2	
Not sure.....	7	8	11	7	8	12	5	5	7	

- 13c. If a candidate for president were committed to eliminating all government affirmative action programs that give preferences to minorities and women, would that make you more likely to vote for that candidate, less likely to vote for that candidate, or would that not affect your vote?

	<u>All</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	
More likely to vote for candidate.....	18	18	21	[58]
Less likely to vote for candidate.....	33	29	60	
Would not affect my vote.....	45	49	16	
Not sure.....	4	4	3	

- 14a. From what you know, do you agree more with Bill Clinton and the Democrats **OR** more with the Republicans in Congress on the issue of the federal budget?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	
Clinton and Democrats	38	38	38	[59]
Republicans in Congress.....	41	44	41	
Both equal (VOL).....	5	4	4	
Not sure.....	16	14	17	

- 14b. Which concerns you more about the current budget debate --that the Democrats will not go far enough in reducing spending and balancing the budget, **OR** that Republicans will go too far in cutting programs and giving tax breaks to wealthy special interests?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	
Democrats will not go far enough ...	30	33	[60]
Republicans will go too far.....	59	56	
Both equal (VOL).....	6	5	
Not sure.....	5	6	

- 15a. If Congress reduces spending on some programs this year, should these savings mainly be used to reduce the deficit, to lower taxes, or to increase funding for other programs?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
	*			
Reduce the deficit.....	48	51	53	[61]
Lower taxes.....	23	25	26	
Increase funding for other programs.....	21	19	15	
Combination (VOL).....	3	2	2	
Not sure.....	5	3	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 15b. Here are some possible goals Congress could have in passing the budget. Please tell me which one or two you think are the most important goals for the budget. **(ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)**

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	
	*		
Balancing the budget by the year 2002.....	18	22	[62]
			1
Making sure the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.....	28	32	>
Reducing government spending.....	24	29	
Protecting Medicare and Social Security.....	34	39	
Lowering taxes on the middle class.....	20	13	
Improving education.....	35	30	
None of them (VOL).....	-	-	
All of them (VOL).....	6	5	
Not sure.....	-	-	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 16a. Do you want to see President Clinton make adjustments to reach compromises with the Republican Congress on the budget issue, or maintain his budget priorities?

Make adjustments	6	[63]
	4	
Maintain budget priorities.....	2	
	6	
Both (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 16b. Do you want to see the Republicans in Congress make adjustments to reach compromises with President Clinton on the budget issue, or maintain their budget priorities? *

Make adjustments	7	[64]
	0	
Maintain budget priorities.....	2	
	3	
Both (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 16c. As you know, President Clinton and the Republican Congress have not reached agreement on many parts of the federal budget. In your view, who is more to blame for this disagreement--President Clinton or the Republican Congress?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	
President Clinton	21	28	[65]
Republican Congress.....	48	45	
Both equal (VOL).....	21	18	
Not sure.....	10	9	

- 16d. And in your opinion, is the budget disagreement between President Clinton and the Republican Congress mostly a result of legitimate philosophical differences, or mostly a result of partisan politics? *

Mostly a result of legitimate philosophical differences.....	1	[66]
Mostly a result of partisan politics.....	2	
	7	
	7	
Both (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 16e. Do you think the budget disagreement between President Clinton and Congress will lead to a major shutdown of the federal government, or do you think they will reach an agreement in time to avoid a shutdown?

Disagreement will lead to a shutdown.....	1	[67]
	5	
Will reach agreement in time to avoid shutdown.....	7	
	7	
Not sure.....	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 17a. From what you know, what is the financial status of the Medicare system--it is in good shape and needs no real changes, it faces some problems and needs minor changes, or it faces serious problems and needs major reforms?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/9</u>	
In good shape, needs no real changes.....	3	<u>5</u> 4	[68]
Faces some problems, needs minor changes.....	32	31	
Faces serious problems, needs major reforms.....	61	61	
Not sure.....	4	4	

- 17b. If Congress reduces spending on Medicare by two hundred billion dollars over the next seven years, do you think this will or will not lead to cutbacks in necessary medical services for the elderly?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	
Will lead to cutbacks.....	74	73	74	[69]
Will not lead to cutbacks.....	17	20	20	
Not sure.....	9	7	6	

- 17c. Here are reasons that some people give for reducing planned spending on Medicare. For each one, please tell me if you favor or oppose reducing Medicare spending for this reason. First, do you favor or oppose reducing Medicare spending **(READ FIRST ITEM)? (READ EACH ITEM.)**.

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
To keep the Medicare trust fund from going bankrupt				[70]
September 1995.....	69	25	6	
July 1995.....	68	25	7	
To help reduce the federal budget deficit				[71]
September 1995.....	33	61	6	
July 1995.....	38	56	6	

To help pay for tax cuts

[72]

September 1995.....	16	80	4
July 1995.....	20	75	5

- 17d. From what you know, which of the following is the main reason that Republicans in Congress are proposing to reduce planned spending on Medicare? **(READ ITEMS. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	
To keep the Medicare trust fund from going bankrupt.....	22	21	[73]
To help reduce the federal budget deficit.....	29	31	
To help pay for tax cuts.....	31	29	
All (VOL).....	5	4	
Not sure.....	13	15	

- 18a. In the current Medicare debate, which do you think is Democrats' main priority -- protecting the Medicare system, or using the issue to gain political advantage over the Republicans? *

Protecting the Medicare system.....	3	[74]
	6	
Using the issue to gain political advantage over Republicans.....	5	
Both (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	6	
	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 18b. In the current Medicare debate, which do you think is Republicans' main priority -- protecting the Medicare system, or saving money in order to pay for the tax cuts they want? *

Protecting the Medicare system.....	2	[75]
	1	
Saving money to pay for the tax cuts they want.....	6	
Both (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	2	
	1	
	0	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 19a. The following are some proposals that are being considered in Congress to deal with Medicare's funding problems. For each one, please tell me if you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal. **(READ EACH ITEM.)**

	Strongl y <u>Favor</u>	Somewh at <u>Favor</u>	Somewh at <u>Oppose</u>	Strongl y <u>Oppose</u>	Not <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
Having people on Medicare with incomes of more than seventy-five thousand dollars a year pay more for their coverage.....	52	24	10	11	3	[76]
Having people on Medicare pay twenty percent of the cost for certain services that are fully covered today, such as lab tests and nursing services.....	12	29	22	31	6	[77]
Increasing by fifty dollars the annual deductible that people on Medicare must pay for doctor care	18	31	16	30	5	[78]
Keeping premiums at current levels for those on Medicare who agree to join an HMO, or health maintenance organization, while increasing premiums for those who choose to continue seeing private-practice doctors.....	21	26	18	27	8	[79]
Increasing the premiums paid by those on Medicare by twenty-one dollars per month *.....	8	24	25	36	7	[80]
Increasing the premiums paid by those on Medicare by seven dollars per month *.....	17	35	18	23	7	[81]
(ALWAYS ASK LAST)	26	28	17	22	7	[82]
Reducing the fees Medicare pays to hospitals and doctors for services.....						[82]

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 19b. If Medicare does reduce the amount it pays to doctors and hospitals for services, do you think doctors and hospitals will **(READ ITEM.)**, or not? *

	<u>Will</u>	<u>Will</u> <u>Not</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
Find ways to deliver the same services more efficiently.....	48	45	7	[83]
Refuse to accept many Medicare patients.....	61	34	5	[84]
Raise their prices for non-Medicare patients to make up for the lost income.....	83	11	6	[85]
Reduce the quality of care provided to Medicare patients.....	50	44	6	[86]

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 20a. Which concerns you more about the current welfare reform debate--that the Democrats will not go far enough in making needed changes in the welfare system, or that Republicans will go too far in denying assistance to poor families?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>4/21-</u> <u>25/9</u>	
Democrats will not go far enough ...	37	37	[87]
Republicans will go too far.....	48	48	
Both equal (VOL).....	8	7	
Not sure.....	7	8	

20b. Do you think the middle class is being squeezed more by: **(READ CHOICES.)**

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>5/92</u>	
A) The cost of welfare programs for the poor and unfair advantages for minorities.....	27	23	[88]
OR			
B) The cost of tax breaks for the rich and unfair advantages for big business.	55	61	
Both equally (VOL).....	11	10	
Neither (VOL).....	2	3	
Not sure.....	5	3	

21a. In your view, which would be best for the economy at this time--lower interest rates, current interest rates, or higher interest rates? *

Lower interest rates.....	4	[89]
	8	
Current interest rates.....	3	
	5	
Higher interest rates.....	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

21b. Would you prefer a graduated income tax system, in which people with higher incomes pay a higher tax rate, or a flat tax system, in which everyone pays the same tax rate regardless of income?

	<u>9/95</u> *	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	
Prefer graduated income tax system.....	57	56	[90]
Prefer flat tax system.....	38	40	
Both equal (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	4	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

21c. Would you prefer an income tax system that taxes both income from investments and income from wages equally, or a system with higher taxes on income from wages but no taxes on income from investments?

	<u>9/95</u> *	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	
Prefer income tax system that taxes both income from investments and income from wages equally.....	54	57	[91]
Prefer system with higher taxes on income from wages but no taxes on income from investments.....	30	32	
Both equal (VOL).....	5	3	
Not sure.....	11	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

21d. As you know, there have been a number of mergers recently involving large firms in such industries as communications and banking. In your view, are these mergers generally good or bad for the country? *

Good for the country.....	2	[92]
	7	
Bad for the country.....	5	

	5
Both/mixed (VOL).....	5
Not sure.....	1
	3

* Asked of one-half the
respondents.

22. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? **(ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**¹

	<u>9/95</u> *	<u>6/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	
Economic instability in Mexico.....	8	7	13	11	[93]
Trade relations with Japan.....	18	22	NA	NA	
Relations with China.....	11	6	NA	NA	
North Korea's nuclear program.....	7	10	18	21	
The war in Bosnia +.....	30	29	11	12	
Relations with Russia ++.....	9	NA	NA	NA	
All equally (VOL).....	10	8	7	5	
None of these (VOL).....	1	2	2	2	
Not sure.....	6	6	8	5	

- 23a. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of current U.S. policy toward the situation in Bosnia?

	<u>9/95</u> *	<u>7/95</u>	
Approve.....	43	28	[94]
Disapprove.....	42	50	
Not sure.....	15	22	

- 23b. Do you think that current military and diplomatic efforts by the United States and its allies will be successful or not successful in producing a peace settlement in Bosnia in the next few months? *

Will be successful.....	3	[95]
	7	
Will not be successful.....	5	
	2	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

24. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view on our relationship with China?

Statement A: We should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies.

OR

Statement B: We should demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States.

	<u>9/95</u> *	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
Statement A/Maintain good trade relations.....	33	40	31	29	[96]
Statement B/Demand improved human rights policies.....	60	51	61	65	
Neither (VOL).....	4	3	2	2	
Not sure.....	3	6	6	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

25. As you know, Oregon Senator Bob Packwood recently resigned from the U.S. Senate following allegations of sexual harassment and improper use of his position for financial gain. In terms of his **(READ ITEM)**, do you think Bob Packwood is generally typical of members of Congress, or more of an isolated case? *

	Typical Of Members Of <u>Congress</u>	More Of An Isolated Case	Not Sure	
Sexual behavior.....	41	49	10	[97]
Financial dealings as a public official....	60	27	13	[98]

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 26a. In your opinion, is O.J. Simpson guilty or not guilty of the murders he has been charged with committing?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
				-	4			
				<u>25/9</u>				
				5				
O.J. Simpson is guilty.....	55	52	54	50	49	42	33	[99]
O.J. Simpson is not guilty.....	20	19	17	18	16	22	23	1
Not sure.....	25	29	29	32	35	36	44	

- 26b. In your opinion, is the O.J. Simpson trial a fair trial or not a fair trial?

	<u>9/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21</u>	
			-	
			<u>25/9</u>	
			5	
O.J. Simpson trial is fair	38	45	38	[100]
O.J. Simpson trial is not fair.....	46	39	46	1
Not sure.....	16	16	16	

- 26c. As you may know, Los Angeles police detective Mark Fuhrman has testified that he found the trial's "bloody glove" near O.J. Simpson's home, while Mr. Simpson's attorneys have suggested that Detective Fuhrman planted the glove there. Do you believe that Mark Fuhrman found the glove, or that he planted it?

Found the glove	46	[101]
Planted the glove.....	32	1
Not sure.....	22	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1a. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

<u>Yes, Voted</u>		
George Bush.....	2	{200}
	8	
Bill Clinton	3	
	6	

Ross Perot.....	1
	2
None (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	2
No, Did Not Vote	1
	9
Not Sure If Voted/Refused	3

- F1b. Thinking about the last few state and national elections in which you have voted, which best describes the candidates for whom you voted? **(READ LIST CAREFULLY.)**

Almost all Republicans.....	1	{251}
	2	
Mostly Republicans, but a few Democrats.....	2	
	0	
A few more Republicans than Democrats.....	7	
The same number of Republicans and Democrats.....	1	
	3	
A few more Democrats than Republicans.....	5	
Mostly Democrats, but a few Republicans.....	1	
	9	
Almost all Democrats.....	1	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	5	{201}
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	7	
Moderate.....	2	
	5	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	5	
Very conservative.....	1	
	0	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	3	

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	{203}
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	2	
	8	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	9	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	2	
	0	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	1	
	0	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

- F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	12	{204}
25-29.....	10	
30-34.....	11	
35-39.....	12	
40-44.....	10	
45-49.....	9	
50-54.....	7	
55-59.....	5	
60-64.....	6	
65 and over.....	16	
Refused.....	2	

- F5. What type of work do you do?

Professional/manager.....	2	{205}
	5	
White collar worker.....	2	
	0	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	0	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	6	
Retired.....	1	
	9	
Unemployed.....	3	
Never worked/not sure.....	2	

- F6. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single.....	2	{220}
	6	
Married.....	5	
	4	
Separated.....	2	
Divorced.....	8	
Widowed.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

- F7. Do you consider yourself to be a follower of conservative Christian political organizations, or don't you?

Yes, a follower of conservative Christian political organizations.....	2	{252}
	5	
No, not a follower of conservative Christian political organizations.....	6	
	9	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

- F8a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	CONTINU	{207}
	5	E	
Catholic.....	3	SKIP TO	
	1	Q.F8c	
Jewish.....	3		
Other.....	6		

None.....	3
Not sure/refused.....	2

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F8a)

F8b. Regardless of how you were brought up, do you consider yourself to be a born-again Christian-- that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?

Born-again.....	2	{209}
	7	
Not born-again.....	2	
	6	
Not sure.....	2	
Non-Protestants (Q.F8a).....	4	
	5	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F8c. Would you say you go to religious services more than once a week, every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

More than once a week.....	12	{210}
		}
Every week.....	24	
Once or twice a month.....	15	
A few times a year.....	31	
Never.....	15	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F9. Do you regularly listen to political call-in shows on the radio?

Yes, regularly listen to call-in radio shows.....	2	{250}
	7	}
No, do not regularly listen to call-in radio shows.....	7	
	0	
Not sure.....	3	

F10. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	{213}
	1	
Labor union household.....	9	
Nonunion household.....	7	
	7	
Not sure.....	3	

F11. Are you a member or a veteran of the armed forces?

Member of armed forces.....	3	{219}
Veteran of armed forces.....	1	
	6	
Not a member or veteran of armed forces.....	7	
	8	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F12. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	80	{214}
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

- F13. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	6	{216}
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	
	0	

- F14. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	{217}
	2	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	8	